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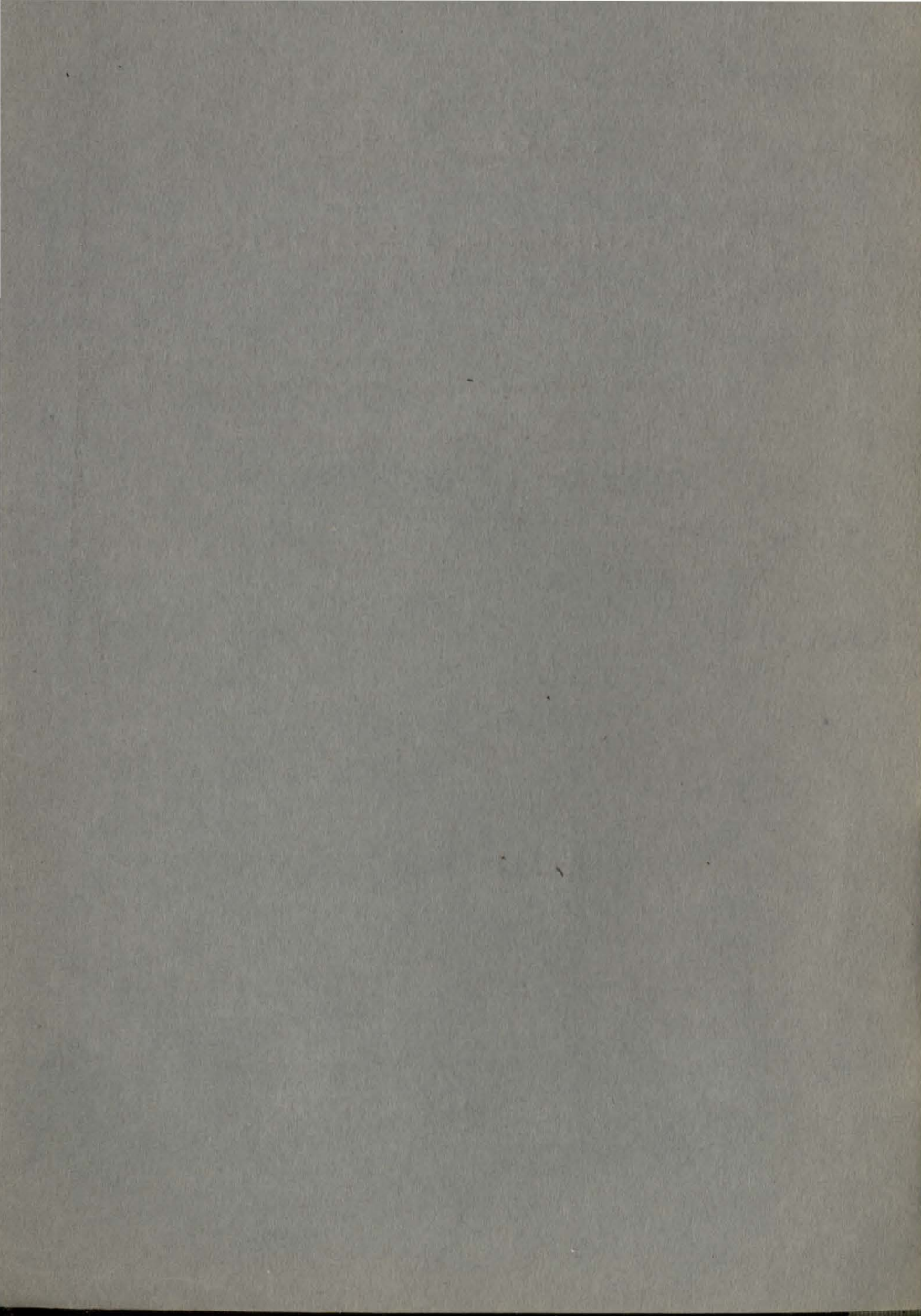
M O T I
A CHINESE HERETIC

A SHORT SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND WORKS

BY H. R. WILLIAMSON



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The latter character of this is the same as the first. It is given to the public in the paper that it may attract interest in one who has been too long neglected by Western sinologists and also by his own countrymen. It is therefore supposed that Mo Ti adopted the name of this place after he was exiled, or that it was conferred upon him later as a title. However that may be, we can affirm with some confidence that Mo Ti belongs by birth and training to the same province as his more famous compeers, Confucius and Mencius.

For Ma Ch'ien was not quite sure of the time in which Mo Ti lived. He says that "some affirm he was of the same time as Confucius while others say he came after him." The majority of critics place him after Confucius and before Mencius, so that B. C. 403 to 382 may be assumed to be an approximately correct estimate of the span of his life.

So Mo Ti, or Mo Tzu, as he is more commonly styled, lived in the time when the great Chou (周) dynasty was crumbling to decay, the period known in Chinese history as the time of the Warring States. The Emperor was such in name only, the real power being in the hands of the warlords of those days, the Dukes of Ch'u and Ch'i, of Chin and Yueh. These states were engaged in constant warfare one with another, in the attempt to extend their territory and influence. It was a time when, according to Mencius, "there were no righteous wars" and when "the blood of the slain filled both the cities and the wild."

The Social Order of that period was feudal in character. At the top were the wealthy and all powerful nobles, beneath them the great mass of the people serving as vassals or serfs, compelled to follow their lord to the wars, or to build and plough according to his whim. The rich were very rich and the poor were very poor. In the courts of the great, luxurious feasting and elaborate performances of music and dancing went on almost continuously.

It was, too, an Aesthetic Age, one noted for its fine bronzes, embroideries and carving. Exquisite robes of the finest silk adorned the persons of the rich, while their chariots, chairs and boats were ornamented with the most elaborate designs. Much of the great literature of China was produced at that time. Lao Tzu, Confucius, Mencius, Han Fei Tzu all belong to that period. In short, it was an Age in which Culture and Luxury went hand in hand with civil war and the extremest poverty.

It is important that we should bear these facts in mind if we are to appreciate the teachings of Mo Tzu, for

first and foremost he sought for a remedy for the ills of his time.

Unfortunately little is known of the details of his life. References to him in the Dynastic Histories are of the scrappiest character, and other literature deals almost solely with his teaching. The History of Ssu Ma Chi'en referred to above contains full accounts of other famous philosophers and writers of those days, but Mo Tzu is given only a few short sentences, appended to the section on Mencius and Hsun Tzu, as follows, viz., "Mo Tzu was an official of the State of Sung, skilled in the art of defensive warfare, and a stern ascetic. Some say he was of the same time as Confucius, while others say he came after him."

It is doubtful whether Mo Tzu was ever actually in official position, though he must have acted in an advisory capacity to certain rulers. The other two facts mentioned here, of his being versed in defensive warfare, and of his being a stern ascetic, find abundant confirmation in his own works and other writings of or near his own time. In the preface to Ssu Ma Ch'ien's History there is another reference as follows:—"Mo Tzu lived in a small house built of rough unworked timbers, and with a thatched roof. He used none but earthenware utensils, and partook of the coarsest food. His clothing was of the simplest, of skin or grass according to the season. He was buried in a plain coffin of thin boards." Thus in a few brief sentences does the "Father of Chinese history" dismiss one of the wisest and most noble men that China has ever produced. But that is typical of the way in which Mo Tzu has been neglected by his fellow countrymen.

From Huai Nan Tzu (淮南子) circa 200 B. C. we learn that Mo Tzu studied under a Confucian teacher, and that he was well versed in the Confucian philosophy, rites and practices. Later however, becoming dissatisfied with the elaborate ritual and excessive expenditure which the mourning regulations of that cult demanded, and also because he considered the long mourning period observed by them to be injurious to men's livelihood, and detrimental to the conduct of public affairs, Mo Tzu recanted from the ways of the Chou Dynasty, typified by the Confucian teachings, and turned to the times and ways of the Hsia (夏) Dynasty, typified by the great King Yu, whose stupendous labours in reducing the country to order after a great flood are so justly famous.

In another work, professedly of the same date as the last, viz., the Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'iu, (呂氏春秋) we are informed that Mo Tzu received special instruction at the feet of one Shih Chueh, who had been sent by the Emperor to the Duke of Lu on a special mission connected with the Imperial sacrifices. He was found to be so well versed in all ancient lore that the Duke of Lu detained him at his court, and Mo Tzu evidently found opportunity to imbibe from him much that was useful in the framing of his own philosophy,

These passages, while they cannot be said to give us facts which are incontestably authenticated, may be supposed to be reasonably correct, especially when considered in the light of Mo Tzu's opposition to the Confucianists and his studious imitation of the great King Yu. The reason suggested for his antipathy to Confucius is one which finds emphasis in his writings, and the mode of

life which Mo Tzu himself adopted and imposed on all his followers is such as would be naturally derived from a study of the primitive times of Hsia, circa B.C. 2,000.

It is true that Confucius also revolted from the luxury and externality which characterised the times in which he lived. In the Annals of Kung Yang (公羊) we read that "Confucius sought to transform the "embellishments" of Chou into the "solid simplicity" of Yin (殷) i. e. of the previous dynasty. But we know from the Analects that Confucius was anything but an extremist in this connection, for he is reported to have said, "When the solid qualities are in excess of the accomplishments, we have rusticity: when the accomplishments are in excess of the solid qualities, we have the manners of a clerk: when the accomplishments and the solid qualities are equally blended, then we have the way of the ideal man (君子)." We see from this that Confucius was content to adopt a middle course.

Not so Mo Tzu, who was a reformer of the most radical type. Nothing less than the *abolition* of the ways of Chow, with its art and luxury, its wars and moral blindness, and a complete reversal to the primitive simplicity of the times of Hsia, would satisfy his revolutionary mentality. This affords the clue to Mo Tzu's asceticism, and the reason for his uncompromising opposition to the compromising Confucianists.

Such then are the main facts of Mo Tzu's life. He was a native of the present Shantung, lived in the times between Confucius and Mencius, was well educated in ancient lore and also in the Confucian teachings, and adopted the ascetic mode of life. He was also skilled in the art of

defensive strategy, and was a philosopher of note radically opposed to Confucianism and the war-lords of his time.

II.

Let us now try to estimate his influence, and to ascertain how far he succeeded in impressing his contemporaries with the force of his character and the power of his teaching. In this connection the evidence of Mencius is of prime importance. We find that he alludes to Mo Tzu and that other great heretic, Yang Chu, together, as follows:- "The words of Yang Chu and Mo Ti fill the empire. If you listen to people's talk throughout the country, you will find they have adopted the views either of one or the other. Now Yang's principle is "each one for himself", which leaves no room for the special claims of a sovereign. Mo's great principle is, "to love all equally," which leaves no room for the peculiar affection due to a father. But to acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in the state of a beast. If the principles of Yang and Mo are not opposed, and the principles of Confucius not set forth, then those perverse teachings will delude the people, and hinder the progress of benevolence and righteousness. I am alarmed by these things, and address myself to the doctrines of the former sages, and to oppose Yang and Mo. Whoever is able to oppose Yang and Mo is a disciple of the sages."

Han Fei Tzu the famous essayist who died B. C. 233 says, "The two chief schools of philosophy are those of Confucius and Mo Tzu." In the Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'iu of somewhat later date we read, "The disciples of Confucius and Mo Tzu are extremely numerous, comprising the

whole population." And again "Among the disciples of Confucius and Mo Tzu were innumerable famous scholars and officials."

Others famous teachers, like the heretic Hsun Tzu, who lived in the 3rd century B. C., and who advocated that "by nature man is evil," and the great Taoist, Chuang Tzu, 4th cent. B. C., the advocate of a mystic idealism, both thought Mo Tzu's doctrines worthy of considerable notice and keen criticism, which in itself may be regarded as evidence of the extensive influence which Mo Tzu exercised in those times. It would seem from the above quotations that the school of Mo Tzu rivalled that of Confucius for over a century and that in number and influence his followers kept pace with those of the great national sage of China.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the followers of Mo Tzu were closely organised, in a manner somewhat akin to that of the Roman Church. There appears to have been one Head of the sect recognised as such by the Mo Tzu-ites throughout the land. Naturally Mo Tzu would be the first to hold this office, but three of his successors are known by name, viz., Meng Sheng, T'ien Hsiang Tzu and Fu Tun. The first named held office for quite a short time, and there is evidence that the last named, Fu Tun, succeeded to T'ien Hsiang Tzu in B. C. 356, i. e. less than thirty years after Mo Tzu's death. The Head of the sect was designated (鍾子), Chu Tzu, the real meaning of which is not yet ascertained, but is generally thought to have some reference to the kind of seal or other insignia which he held to typify his office.

There is one instance recorded of a "Pope" nominating his successor, viz., that of Meng Sheng nominating T'ien Hsiang Tzu, but evidence is insufficient to prove that this was the practice in every case.

We also know that in the time of Chuang Tzu, i. e. towards the end of the fourth century B. C. there were three sub-Heads, or arch-bishops, of the Mo Tzu sect, each controlling a large district, spoken of as south east, and north. The southern district extended as far as Kiangsi, the western as far as Shensi, and the northern as far as Shantung. In Chuang Tzu's time the three heads of these districts were called Hsiang Li, Hsiang Fu and Teng Ling. There is one passage in Chuang Tzu's works, called the T'ien Hsia P'ien, which may be interpreted to mean that these three "arch-bishops" were then competing for the "papacy," rendered vacant by the death of Fu Tun. The question was not settled when Chuang Tzu wrote, and his reference suggests that the squabble had been going on for some time. However that may be, there is no name of a fourth successor to Mo Tzu known. All this would seem to suggest that a hundred years or so after Mo Tzu's death the unity of the sect, so vital to its continuity, was destroyed by this "papal" squabble, and this might have contributed in no small measure to the decay of its influence.

Other reasons suggested for this decay are the opposition of embellishment and literary flavour which is a characteristic of the Mo Tzu writings. But probably the most weighty reason of all is found in the character of the teachings themselves, which, as one of his critics says "are essentially opposed to man's nature." By that is

meant that Mo Tzu set his standard too high for the people of his day, especially for the rulers and influential classes. For as one studies the history of the succeeding dynasties of Ts'in and Han, whose rulers were preoccupied with their wars of unification, it is obvious they would have little use for Mo Tzu, with his doctrines of "Love-of-all" and anti-aggressive militarism. Confucianism, with its easier ethic, its middle-course philosophy, and toleration of class distinctions, was much more congenial to those in authority at that time.

III.

So after a century of wide-spread influence the principles of Mo Tzu fell into disfavour, and his works into obscurity. For over two thousand years his writings received scanty attention, and if the Taoists had not found certain elements in his teachings to their liking and so included his works in their catalogues, it is probable that the great bulk of his writings would have been completely lost. For apart from the references in Mencius, Hsun Tzu, Huai Nan Tzu, Han Fei Tzu, and the Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'iu of Kao Yu, which are but brief, and for the most part critical in character, we depend upon Chuang Tzu, the eminent writer on Taoism, for more copious information. He also criticises Mo Tzu's teaching, but cannot refrain from praising the sage himself for his selfdenying and sacrificial spirit. Chuang Tzu lived, as we have said above, towards the end of the 4th century B. C. From then on to the time of the Han Emperor, Wu Ti, B. C. 140-88, there are occasional references in the writings of those previously mentioned. Han Wu Ti was keenly interested in Taoism,

and the works of Mo Tzu were introduced to him by a teacher, chiefly because they included some methods of alchemy, or as it is described "the manipulations of the five elements, metal, wood, water, fire and earth." Following upon that came another period of silence, covering several hundred years, till we come to the time of the Eastern Chin dynasty, when one Ko Hung, A. D. 317-22, quotes Mo Tzu's method of "transforming the white and yellow metals" (probably silver and gold). Probably for this reason the Taoists of those days included Mo Tzu's works in their Biographical Dictionary, the Sheng Hsien Chuan (聖賢傳), an event of prime importance in the history of the literature. Later again, during the T'ang dynasty, A. D. 618-905 when Buddhist and Taoist works were much studied, copying of the classics became a fine art and was considered virtuous. Evidently Mo Tzu's works were copied then, as may be gathered from the text itself. We know too, that in the times of the Sung dynasty, when printing from wooden blocks first became common, Mo Tzu's works were printed in that way, but with such lack of intelligence that the Mo Tzu classic, the one portion of his writings which is attributed by common consent to Mo Tzu himself, got thrown into the greatest confusion and became practically unintelligible.

During the Ming dynasty, the Taoists in 1446 issued their great Literary Encyclopaedia, called the Tao Ts'ang Pen (道藏本) in which are included all the works of Mo Tzu known at the present day. So that throughout a period of more than sixteen hundred years the Taoists preserved the writings of this ancient sage, for the simple reason that they found in them a quite negligible amount

of alchemistic knowledge which appealed to them. Some scholar of the Ming times extracted the works of Mo Tzu from this Taoist Encyclopaedia, and printed them separately. The Commercial Press has issued a photographed edition of this. That too was a very important event from the standpoint of the history of the Mo Tzu literature, for with it the modern period of enquiry and comment may be said to begin. Since then, however, apart from very recent publications, there have been only two recensions of the text, one by Pi Yuan, in 1784, including a commentary, and one by Sun I Jang in 1894, styled the Mo Tzu Chien Ku, (墨子間詁) which, with all its defects, is recognised as the standard work on the subject. Sun I Jang tells us that he devoted twenty years of his life to this task, and consulted over ten authorities, a comment sufficiently enlightening on the way in which the study of Mo Tzu had been neglected, for if it had been some orthodox Confucianist whose works he was editing, the available authorities would have run into the hundreds.

Since the Revolution, and concomitant with the freedom of thought and expression which have resulted from that much maligned movement, China has witnessed a great revival of interest in the teachings of the ancient heretics, and Mo Tzu has come in for a large share of attention. Professors Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, Hu Shih, and Chang Ping Lin are amongst the better-known moderns who are giving considerable thought to Mo Tzu's philosophy. But there are others of less renown, like Professor Lan T'iao Fu of the Shantung Christian University, who are making valuable contributions to the subject. Publications in French and German have been issued, but in English there

is little to help the western enquirer to understand the teachings of this great philosopher. For two thousand years he has been allowed to lie in almost total obscurity both by East and West. One cannot but be grateful for the signs of awakening interest in the life and principles of one who has been so undeservedly neglected.

IV

Of what do Mo Tzu's works consist, and what is the character of the literature?

The oldest reference indicates that there should be 15 volumes comprising 71 different chapters or sections. Of these only fifty-three are extant. Of the remaining eighteen we have the titles of eight, but all trace of the other ten has been completely lost. The only section which is generally attributed to Mo Tzu's own hand is the Mo Tzu classic, forming two sections of the whole. This is the most difficult of his philosophical writings to interpret. Appended to this are two sections of commentary, probably by his disciple Teng Ling, and two Addenda to this, of comparatively late authorship. These six chapters form one large section of the whole work, generally styled "Mo Pien", or "Discussions of Mo Tzu."

The second large section comprises in all 24 chapters, in which ten subjects are discussed. This is the most important section of all as it contains the great principles of the Mo Tzu philosophy. The titles of the chapters may be translated as follows:—

1. The importance of promoting men of character to public office. (尙賢)

2. The importance of securing a unified method of public administration (尙同)
3. Love of all, without discrimination. (兼愛)
4. Against taking the initiative in war. (非攻)
5. Economy in public expenditure. (節用)
6. Economy in funeral rites. (節葬)
7. The will of Heaven. (天志)
8. The existence of spirits. (明鬼)
9. Against Music. (非樂)
10. Against Fatalism. (非命)

The extant text of these discourses comprises 24 chapters, but originally there were probably thirty in all, as each subject in the main is discussed in three separate chapters, probably the work of three different disciples or schools. It is surmised that these are the work of the three district Heads referred to above, viz., Hsiang Li, Hsiang Fu and Teng Ling, belonging to the third generation of Mo Tzu's followers. In subject matter these different treatises on each topic vary very little, though there is some divergence of literary expression. So we may conclude that here we have the true ideas of Mo Tzu on these particular subjects.

The third main section of the work consists of a group of four chapters, which are also very important, for they give us much valuable information about the actual events of Mo Tzu's life, and also some interesting sidelights on his teaching method, much in the style of the Confucian Analects. The titles of these respectively are as follows:—

1. Ching Chu, the name of a disciple of Mo Tzu.
2. Kuei I, the supreme value of Righteousness.

3. Kung Meng, the name of a disciple, either of Confucius or Tseng Tzu.
4. Lu Wen, or the Enquiry of the Duke of Lu, probably Duke Mu.

The fourth main section consists of twelve chapters, concerned chiefly with military strategy and the art of defensive warfare. The first of these twelve, styled Kung Shu, may be regarded as introductory to the other eleven. It is taken up chiefly with a supposed interview of Mo Tzu with one Kung Shu Pan, a high officer of the State of Ch'u. The other eleven are difficult to translate, being full of military and mechanical terms.

The fifth and last group consists of eight chapters on different subjects related in a general way to the teachings of Mo Tzu, but three or four of them are of uncertain authorship. They are useful for the further elucidation of the main tenets of the school.

V

Shall we now endeavour from a general study of two or three of these groups, to estimate the character of Mo Tzu, and to gain some idea of the most important elements of his teaching.

Beginning with the Mo Tzu Classic, it is interesting to note that at some time in its history, possibly originally it was so, it was written in a rather unusual way, called the cross-wise character (旁行文), i. e. instead of reading right down a column from top to bottom in the usual way, the classic was written in two halves, the page or scroll being divided into top and bottom. But the sentences of the top half were to be read first, from right

to left, straight on to the end, and then the reader was to continue by returning to the first sentence in the bottom half, and reading as above from right to left until the end was reached. But in the times of the Sung Dynasty when, as has been mentioned, printing from wooden blocks became common, some printer, better versed in his art than in the teachings of Mo Tzu, linked up the top and bottom halves, sentence by sentence, thus making a sort of jig-saw puzzle of the work. But so ignorant were scholars of the writings of Mo Tzu that some attempted to elucidate the text in its confused order with very wonderful results. In the 1894 edition of Sun I Jang, the text, thus confused, is retained, but an attempted rearrangement of the book is included at the end. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao has also put the Classic in good order, and it has thus become a not altogether impossible task to wrest the hidden meaning from it.

Although the text is not free from corruption, so much can be understood as to make this classic of Mo Tzu a somewhat wonderful book. In the main it is a treatise on Logic, with subsidiary sections on Geometry, Physics, Chemistry or Alchemy, and Economics. So one can imagine the confusion that would result from reading this Scientific Treatise in the times of Sung. The first sentence might be a definition of a Logical term, and the next an axiom of Geometry. But considering the age of the work, one is surprised to find in it so much that seems to anticipate later so-called discoveries in the world of science. Aristotle was born just about the time that Mo Tzu died, i. e. 384 B. C., and he is usually considered to be the Father of Logic as system. But possibly this

honour may yet have to be accorded to Mo Tzu, or some other Chinese sage not yet restored to us from the shades of antiquity. For in the work under discussion there is included a fairly complete system of Logic, with the sources of Knowledge defined as History, Reasoning and Experiment. Terms are defined as General, Specific and Individual, while proposition, hypothesis, methods of Agreement and Difference, and Syllogisms all find a place in this ancient book.

Matter is defined as separated molecules, and is conceived as being capable of transformation, but not of destruction. It was the Alchemy of Mo Tzu which made him such a favourite with the Taoists. They say that he discovered the Elixir of life, called "fu ling", and that he lived to be five hundred years old. That Space and Time are relative, and that Energy is Matter in motion are some of the remarkable definitions which modern scholars are discovering in this book of 2,000 years ago.

Mo Tzu was a skilled dialectician, as may be gathered from his own works, and also from other writings. He spent much time arguing with the Confucianists of his day. Plato, speaking of Socrates and the arguments he had with the Athenians, describes him as a sort of gadfly, incessantly annoying his opponents. One or two examples of Mo Tzu's method of argument will show that he *also* must have been a very annoying person in this respect. On one occasion he enquired of a Confucianist, "Why do you play music?". "Because music is music." was the characteristic reply. "But" says Mo Tzu, "you have not answered my question. Supposing I were to ask, "Why

do we build houses?". A sensible reply would be, "To shelter us from heat and cold etc.," But you would reply doubtless, "Because houses are houses."

On another occasion, when the source of knowledge was the subject under discussion, Mo Tzu affirmed that a knowledge of the past may in a sense enable us to foretell the future. "But", says his opponent, "It is true we may know the past, but the future is a closed book". Mo Tzu replies, "Shall we suppose that your father were taken ill at a distance of a hundred li from you, and suppose that his illness were such that if you could get to him within one day's time his life could be saved, but greater delay would mean his death. Suppose again that a stout cart with good round wheels and a fine mule, and also a rickety cart with square! wheels and a groggy mule were available for your use. Which would you choose? Naturally the good cart with round wheels and a good animal would be chosen, because you know from past experience that such a conveyance would get you to your destination more quickly than the other. Moreover by that means you know you could ensure that your father's life would be saved. Is not that equivalent to discerning the future by means of past knowledge?"

But Mo Tzu's logical mind was used not only to confute Confucianists. He was logical in a much more significant sense in that he carried out his principles into life and affairs, as we shall see later,

VI

Coming now to the second main section of his works, and by far the most important, we have the Ten Discourses (十論) which represent the distinctive features of Mo

Tzu's philosophy. For the sake of convenience in exposition, we will divide them into two parts, one comprising five treatises on general principles, and the other, also five treatises, containing Mo Tzu's distinctively heretical doctrines, and representing his criticisms of the Confucian philosophy and procedure. The one treatise entitled "Against Confucianism" is not included in this section, as it is most probably spurious, and adds nothing essential to the discussion.

First we must emphasise the fact that each of these ten treatises was composed with a practical object in view. For in the Lu Wen tract Mo Tzu says, "When visiting any state for the purpose of advising the ruler and instructing the people, you should select such teaching as will be appropriate to the existing conditions. Should the state be suffering from internal disorder, apply the principles contained in the treatises on "Putting virtuous men in office" and "Unity in the Administration." Where you find extreme poverty amongst the people, expound the principles of the treatise on "General Economy. Where you find indulgence and licentiousness refer the rulers to the teachings of the treatises on Music and Fatalism. Should you be confronted with lawlessness and abounding injustice warn the rulers of the consequences of such conduct by expounding the principles of "The Will of Heaven" and intimidate them by the tract on "The existence of spirits." Where again, you find the rulers intent upon wars of aggression expound to them the teachings of the treatises styled "Universal Love" and "Against aggressive warfare."

From the above it will be readily seen that the teaching of Mo Tzu has definite relation to the social order of

his day, and was intended to provide a remedy for the public evils which existed at that time. We know that he lived in a period of the greatest disorder, of civil war and feudal tyranny. It is interesting to observe that he endeavours to trace all the confusion, crime and oppression of those days to one root, "selfishness."

VII

His remedy for this is found in his treatise on "Love of all," which is one of the two principles which have given Mo Tzu what little fame has hitherto been accorded him; the other being that contained in his tract against aggressive warfare. Shall we quote from the first of these. Mo Tzu says "The source of disorder in a state lies in the lack of mutual love. If a son loves himself more than he loves his father, he will seek to benefit himself to the detriment of his father: . . . If an officer of state loves himself more than he loves his ruler, he will seek to benefit himself to the detriment of his ruler: . . . A thief loves his own family, but because he has not a similar love for the families of others, he proceeds to steal from their homes to add to his own. . . . Rulers of states love their own territory, but having no love for other states, they proceed to attack them in order to increase their own possessions. . . . What is the remedy for this state of things?" Again quoting Mo Tzu's own words, "If we were to regard the property of others as we regard our own, who would steal? If we were to have the same regard for the territory and people of another state as we have for our own, who would conduct aggressive warfare? If we were to have the same regard for others as we have for ourselves, who would do anyone an injustice?"

So we find that Mo Tzu makes much of two characters, "chien" (兼) and "pieh" (別). The former indicates the absence of distinctions, the latter suggests their presence. So that "chien ai" (兼愛) means love without distinction, which is what Mo Tzu advocates as the remedy for the "pieh" attitude of the rulers of his time, who sought for the aggrandisement of their own interests with an utter disregard of the interests of others. In thus emphasising this "love of all without distinction" as the fundamental principle of his philosophy, it is easy to see that he lays himself open to the criticism of being too idealistic. Critics of this order were not lacking in his own times. Let us quote from a dialogue in one of the Mo Tzu Analects. One said "Excellent sir, your theory is excellent, but it is impracticable." Mo Tzu relied, "If my theory is good, it can be carried out" So to Mo Tzu, the fact that a certain course is good implies its practicability, and he thus anticipates the great dictum of Kant, "I ought, therefore I can". Yes, Mo Tzu is an idealist, as Christ was when He called upon men to "love one another" and "to love our neighbour as ourselves". But he is Utilitarian as well. This mutual love was to be expressed in such a way as to be of actual benefit to one's fellows. In all intercourse one with another, men were to aim at being of mutual help and profit. So his dictum of "chien hsiang ai" (兼相愛) mutual love, is supplemented by another "chiao hsiang li" (交相利) mutual advantage. Mo Tzu is nothing if he is not practical.

In support of this, let us recall the fact that though Mo Tzu had numbers of critics as a philosopher, there were many who could not refrain from praising him for honestly

trying to carry out his own precepts. Chuang Tzu says, "Mo Tzu himself could possibly carry out his principles, but what about the generality of mankind?" Mencius says, "If Mo Tzu by rubbing his body smooth could benefit the empire he would do it."

It has often been said that Chinese ethical philosophy affords no instance of the Golden Rule, except perhaps the negative form in which that Rule is enunciated by Confucius, but it would seem that Mo Tzu's words mean much the same as Christ's. For to sum up, he says "Regard everyone else as you would yourself, and look upon the things of others as you would look upon your own". That is the fundamental principle of his teaching, and very far reaching in its effects as we shall see.

VIII

The operation of this principle in actual affairs is best seen in his second famous tenet of "anti-aggression." (非攻). Aggressive warfare incessantly waged, was one of the most cruel and criminal features of the times in which Mo Tzu lived. It was a time when "righteous wars were unknown" and when "the blood of the slain filled the cities and the wild." The various princes of states were scheming and fighting constantly to extend the sphere of their influence, much in the same way as we see the war-lords operating in China to-day. Mo Tzu regarded these wars of aggression, undertaken chiefly for the fame or aggrandisement of the ruling chieftain, as the most flagrant instance of the lack of mutual love. But he expressed it more positively as "mutual hate." He attacks it on several grounds. First on the ground that such warfare is futile,

failing ultimately to serve any useful purpose. By way of illustration he quotes an imaginary case of a physician who gathers together all the sick folk in the state, and then proceeds to treat them with his panacea, regardless of the variety of complaint from which they might be suffering. Possibly four or five out of ten thousand might get some benefit, but what of the rest? Not only would no actual benefit accrue, but positively their case might be made worse. So, Mo Tzu would argue, all this talk about the settling of inter-state quarrels by war is equally futile. Even supposing that one state were to add a few square miles to its territory, what of the men slain, the women and children left desolate, the wealth squandered, the property destroyed? In regard to war, as everything else, Mo Tzu would ask, "Does it contribute to the greatest happiness of the greatest number?." If it does not, then it stands self-condemned.

Approaching the question from a slightly different angle, he proceeds to show that in these wars, the victor no less than the vanquished stands to lose in the end, a fact which he illustrates in somewhat amusing fashion, by the figure of a child riding a hobby stick, imagining that his stick is carrying him, while all the time he is travelling on his own feet, and using up his own strength. This Mo Tzu thinks an apt simile of the war-lords of his time, driving their own people to battle, and exhausting their own resources in so doing.

But his opposition to aggressive war is based chiefly on the principle that it is contrary to the "will of Heaven," which he defined as "Heaven's desire that all men should love one another." Therefore such war was in all

cases unrighteous and indefensible. It is true that Chinese history records the instance of one man prior to Mo Tzu, Hsiang Hsu by name, who advocated disarmament to the rulers of the states of Chin and Ch'u, and whose attempt proved successful in preventing war on that particular occasion. But as Liang Ch'i Ch'ao points out, Hsiang Hsu was actuated by motives of expediency rather than by general principle, since the interests of his own state were vitally concerned. Mo Tzu's opposition was based on higher and firmer ground, on a principle that would apply to all cases whatsoever.

Here it would be well to note that Mo Tzu has not one law for the individual and another for the state, as his criticism of the militarists of his day will reveal. He says "If a man steals from another man's orchard you inflict fitting punishment upon him. If he steals from another man's flock, you inflict a proportionately heavier sentence: while if he should murder another man you demand his own life in expiation of his guilt-. But when one of you invades the state of another ruler, lay waste his land, destroys his property, and slaughters thousands of his people, you call it "righteousness": This flagrant inconsistency the logical Mo Tzu devoted all his mental powers to expose, and gave himself unsparingly to the task of opposing those who in their moral blindness failed to see the broader implications of their own jurisprudence. This devotion to the cause of war prevention called forth rebuke from one of his friends, to whom Mo Tzu replied with the following illustration. "Suppose that a farmer had ten sons, nine of whom were lazy, would it not be incumbent upon the tenth to work extra hard to make up for his indolent brothers?"

Three instances are recorded in which Mo Tzu's intervention was successful in preventing serious fighting. There may have been many others. But the classical instance is that recorded in the "Kung Shu" pamphlet, one of the four from which we get the main details of Mo Tzu's life and activities. The gist of the story is as follows. Mo Tzu heard that Kung Shu Pan, one of the high officers of the state of Ch'u, had invented a high scaling ladder, with which the forces of Ch'u were going to attack the capital of the state of Sung. He thereupon set out from his home, travelled southwards ten days and nights without rest, his feet twice blistered, and his clothes torn into shreds to provide bandages for them. Having arrived at the capital of the state of Ch'u, there ensued an interview with the inventor of the scaling ladder, the details of which are recorded with some imagination in the book referred to. It would seem from this that Mo Tzu convinced Kung Shu Pan that it would be quite useless for him to attack Sung, as he had in every case "a Roland for his Oliver." It is evident from the section on military defensive tactics that Mo Tzu was possessed of considerable mechanical ingenuity, and that he devoted himself not merely to personal advocacy of the cause of peace, but also set himself to devise means by which the aggressor in war could be actually circumvented. It is quite clear that on this occasion war was prevented between Ch'u and Sung. Two other instances are on record, one in which Mo Tzu stopped war between Ch'i and Lu, the two states which are now represented by the province of Shantung.

IX

But we must not get the idea that Mo Tzu was an out-and-out pacifist, opposed to war at any price. He realised only too well that the times were evil, and that it was hopeless to expect the morally blind rulers of his day to accept his principles. So he not only brought his mechanical genius to bear on the subject, and invented a great number of contrivances to aid in the defence of cities, but also organised his followers into an armed band, who should be ready to go to the rescue of oppressed people. One of the things he demanded of his disciples was that they should be willing, if need be, to lay down their lives in this cause. Huai Han Tzu, the grandson of the founder of the Han dynasty, records that "Mo Tzu had a bodyguard of 180 men, who would willingly go to death by fire or sword at his command." Another book called "Hsin Yü" of the early Han times, relates many incidents of the unselfish valour of Mo Tzu's followers. In yet another book is related the story of a man of Lu, who had placed his son under Mo Tzu's tuition. This youth lost his life in the defence of his own state, and the father came to vent his wrath on Mo Tzu for having led on his son to this deed. But Mo Tzu replied, "You should feel no resentment, for your son had completed his studies i. e. his death in such a cause shows him to be a ripe student. To feel resentment in such a case is like a merchant feeling distressed because he had sold all his goods." But the classical instance is that related in the Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu, of the death of Meng Sheng, Mo Tzu's successor as Head of the sect. It appears that he and his followers had been engaged by Yang Ch'eng, heir to the throne of Ch'u, to aid him in the de-

fence of his state. But on the death of the Duke, Yang Ch'eng incurred the displeasure of the high officers and was compelled to flee from the country. Before doing so, however he had made a compact with Meng Sheng, and as a pledge had broken a jade signet which he possessed into two halves, giving one half to Meng Sheng, and retaining the other half himself, with the instructions that unless Meng Sheng should receive his half of the signet he was to act as previously agreed upon. Hearing that the heir to the throne had fled, and not having received the other half of the signet, Meng Sheng proceeded to make his arrangements for the defence of his master's interests. His followers being few in number, it was inevitable that his own life should be lost in any attempt that he might make to hold the kingdom for Yang Ch'eng. But not even his own son could dissuade Meng Sheng from his purpose. Having nominated his successor T'ien Hsiang Tzu, as Head of the Mo Tzu sect, and having sent off two of his followers with his commission to him he went with eighty three of his personal following to certain death, actuated by no other motive than fidelity to this principle of defending the oppressed. The two followers who had been sent to T'ien Hsiang Tzu, his successor to the "Papacy", having delivered their old leader's commands, went back to give their lives in the same cause. This incident led to much controversy within the Mo Tzu sect, the question at issue being whether these two followers should have obeyed the new "Pope", T'ien Hsiang Tzu, who sought to prevent them from going back, or Meng Sheng, the old "Pope" who was already dead. For it should be observed that "unquestioning obedience to the "Pope" was a cardinal principle of their faith.

This idea of giving their lives in the defence of the oppressed, evidently was extended later to that of defending all who were suffering from public injustice. For in the histories of the early Han dynasty, we find reference to a band of men styled Hsieh Che (俠者) who originally belonged to the followers of Mo Tzu, and who made it their avowed object to redress public wrongs by their own valour. They were in fact a kind of "Round Table Knights," although they do not seem to have given any particular attention to distressed maidens!

Unfortunately this noble ideal seems to have deteriorated somewhat in later times. For there is evidence that this body became more or less a band of assassins, who could be hired by anyone wishing to do away with their particular enemies. But originally as Mo Tzu and his immediate followers conceived it, their ideal was of the loftiest character. It may be said that "death was always present with them."

This "love of all" was no mere theory with Mo Tzu, still less was it mere sentiment. As a conviction, it was logically carried out even to self-immolation when circumstances called for it.

X

We have endeavoured to show above the character of the two great fundamental principles governing the thought and practice of Mo Tzu and his followers. We must now proceed to examine his ideas of State Administration, contained in the three treatises on the character of officials, the importance of unity, and the need for economy.

Mo Tzu believed in the love of all, equally and without distinction, but he also realised that it was absolutely necessary for the people to have recognised leaders. So he formulated his principle that none but those of virtuous character should be elevated to office. Neither birth, kinship, military prowess nor wealth should entitle a man to consider himself master of his fellows. Virtue was the only qualification for rank, and ability the only qualification for office. This principle was the result of Mo Tzu's thought on current conditions, which evidently embodied the reverse of his suggested procedure. We will quote his own words, "The rulers of the day, when they have clothes to make, send for a skilled tailor: when they wish to give a banquet to their friends, they send for skilled butchers to slaughter their cattle: but when they need someone to fulfil the duties of government, they send for some near relation or personal friend of specious appearance." In Mo Tzu's ideal state neither nepotism nor favouritism would find a place. He demanded first that candidates for public posts should be men of approved character and ability. That being assured, it followed as a natural corollary that the people should render their leaders unswerving loyalty and unquestioning obedience.

In this way the desired unity in state administration would be secured. The village folk would have their elders to whom they should look for guidance in all local affairs. Districts, townships, counties, provinces, states, all would have men of character and ability in control. So gradations of rank would be inevitable. But each lower official should look to his immediate superior for example and inspiration, the rulers of States naturally looking to the Emperor in

this way. But even the Emperor was not to be a "law unto himself." Above him was the "Will of Heaven" to which he should in all things seek to conform. This was the final authority. So we might say that to Mo Tzu the ultimate object of government was to bring all the people into line with the will of Heaven, defined, as we have seen above, as "mutual love." It was in fact a religious Commonwealth that Mo Tzu sought to create. This method of unifying the administration is expressed in the phrase so common in this section of his works, "Shang T'ung erh pu hsia pi" (上同而不下比) i. e. Conform to your superior and avoid base alliances." In other words "Seek to rise to those above you, and do not allow yourself to be dragged down to the level of those below."

The ultimate object of government being defined in this way, it followed naturally that the livelihood of the people should have the first place in all considerations of public expenditure. Any project which deprived the people of the necessary means of life was to him "anathema". He judged all use of public funds strictly in the light of "public utility", and therefore condemned without hesitation the reckless squandering of wealth and life which the unrighteous wars of the time involved, and the lavish expenditure both of time and money which the luxurious banquetings with their displays of costly robes and elaborate music represented. "Clothes were intended for modesty and warmth: to embroider them is useless waste. Carts and boats were intended to save our legs and carry our goods: to carve them elaborately adds nothing to their usefulness." Mo Tzu had no use for the fine Arts, and this is made the pretext by many to condemn his philosophy. But

in justice to him we should bear in mind that the times in which he lived were luxurious to a degree,—that is, as concerns the nobility. Mo Tzu saw the results of their extravagance in the abject poverty and slavery of the great mass of the common people. It was this that called forth his righteous wrath, and made him the champion of the poor against the rich.

XI

Here again, we find that he was no mere theorist. He himself exercised strict economy in his mode of life, and in his own person afforded a shining example of the self-denying toil which he demanded of all who should seek to follow him. His own great exemplar was King Yü, Whose stupendous labours are so justly famous. He who bathed in the rain, combed his hair with the wind and rubbed his body smooth in the toil and privations of his journeyings, was the one whom Mo Tzu would have his disciples imitate. We recall that Mencius indicates Mo Tzu's willingness to endure like discipline if he could benefit the empire. He who laboured so ceaselessly, and himself lived so sparingly could thus conscientiously demand of his followers that they should adopt the same way of life. "The servant is not above his lord". So he called them to "a life of ceaseless toil, and to consider hardship as the normal thing". (日夜不休以自苦爲極) But we must emphasise the fact that Mo Tzu's asceticism was not that of the monastery or the recluse's cave. Their toil and suffering, their denial and sacrifice was to be a practical expression of their love of all. They were to *labour* for the common good. So we find strong emphasis laid by Mo Tzu on manual toil. He himself tilled the fields, as did all his

followers. He even enjoined upon all officials and rulers that they should take their part in the work of agriculture. One suggestion for the name by which Mo Tzu and his followers are designated (墨, which means "ink") is that his skin was blackened by exposure to the elements. Not that mental toil was despised. In fact it would seem that Mo Tzu classed it as superior to manual labour, as may be inferred from a query he addressed to a critic, who had enquired somewhat caustically why he spent so much time in argument. Mo Tzu asks, "Which is the more serviceable, to plough oneself, or to teach ten others to plough?"

But whether it was toil of mind, or toil of body which was enjoined, it was all with intent to improve the living conditions of the people, to eradicate social evils and to better the common lot. Their self-denial and sacrifice were such as to lead such an authority as Liang Ch'i Ch'ao to say "Their self-sacrifice is equal to that of Christ and His disciples".

Such then would be Mo Tzu's ideal state, one in which all without distinction, would toil unceasingly for the common good. No one would seek for any privileges which might deprive another of his rights. Responsibility and not privilege would be a synonym for rank. What Mo Tzu sought to obliterate was not class "distinctions" but class "privileges."

XII

By way of summarising this section, it is necessary to indicate precisely in what way the above teachings of Mo Tzu may be described as "heretical". Take for example, his doctrine of "love of all equally". Mencius

criticises that as denying the special affection that is due to a father. So we may conclude that Mencius regarded this fundamental principle of Mo Tzu as rank heresy, as indeed he was bound to do. For Confucianism, which he was then advocating, is characterised by its emphasis of distinctions in human relationships.

Take again Mo Tzu's opposition to taking the initiative in war. In the Confucian system, war, as such, was not altogether "taboo". If the cause for which war was undertaken was considered "just" then to wage war was lawful. But Mo Tzu viewed the matter differently. To him what was "just" (義) and what was advantageous (利) were synonymous terms, and as he considered that war never worked out to the happiness of the greatest number, he opposed aggressive war in each and every case. So that would be accounted "heresy" too.

Further in regard to his economical views, his emphasis on manual as well as mental toil, would certainly not entitle him to a place among orthodox Confucianists, who considered themselves in that respect as being above the common herd.

XIII

But it is when we consider the second main section of his "Discussions" that the heresy of Mo Tzu, vis-a-vis the Confucianists, becomes flagrant. Let us see what these are.

1. *Mo Tzu attacks the Confucian mourning rites.*

Those who have lived in China, and have seen the long and ornate funeral processions winding their way through some city street must have been impressed with

the financial outlay that such magnificence! represents. Many may have been led to enquire into the reason for such seeming extravagance. One hears frequently of families incurring such heavy expenditure on the funeral of the father or mother that it takes them a lifetime to recover. This idea that an expensive funeral is the proper mark of respect for the dead is unquestionably a Confucian survival. One has but to read certain sections of the Book of Rites, one of the five canonical classics of Confucianism, and one largely concerned with the elaboration of the ceremonies to be observed in a case of mourning, to realise what a large place this subject held in the minds of the Confucianists. The lavish expenditure which was involved in the funeral rites naturally offended the economical and utilitarian mind of Mo Tzu, and called forth his vehement opposition. For the rich it was a waste of money which might be better spent on the poor, and for the poor it involved them in an indebtedness from which there was little hope of escape.

Expense was one factor; the time required to be observed as the mourning period was another. In the case of a near relation three years was set as a time in which the chief mourner should devote himself to mourning; in the case of relations more remote, nine months, or at least three months. The chief mourner was required to relinquish his public duties during this mourning period and devote himself solely to the veneration of the dead. In official life this regulation was specially strict, and there was no escape from it. So on this ground also, Mo Tzu opposed the mourning rites of Confucianism. He asks somewhat caustically why the materialistic Confucianists, who professed no belief in the existence of

spirits, should be so meticulous about the mourning ceremonies. But as an offset to their extravagance, Mo Tzu framed his own funeral regulations as follows:—

A coffin of three inch boards, with no outer shell.

A three piece garment for the shroud.

A grave just deep enough for protection against wild beasts.

A mourning period of three days.

2. *Mo Tzu attacks the materialism of the Confucianists.*

It has been hinted above that the followers of Confucius professed no belief in the existence of spirits. Confucius himself seems to have taken up an agnostic position with regard to the spiritual world, or at least seemed to be content to allow the material to monopolise his attention. In the *Analects* it is reported that he said, "We don't know what we ought about the present life, what can we know about the next?". At the best I think we can say he was hazy or uncertain about the future life, though it certainly cannot be said that he denied the possibility of the human spirit continuing after death. Mo Tzu is emphatic in his belief in the existence of spirits, although one has confess that his treatise on this subject is about the least attractive of all the ten Discourses that we are considering. In the main it is a recital of the activities of ghosts of the "bogey man" variety. The idea obviously is to intimidate the evil doer lest he should meet with punishment for his crimes at the hand of some wicked sprite or other. This is confirmed by the statement of his critics, who says, "Mo Tzu held no official position, and therefore was unable to use the influence which such

position might have given him to coerce the wrong doer, so he formulated his doctrine of the spirit to hold their imaginations in awe." But however imperfect and unsatisfactory his interpretation may be, one thing stands out clearly, viz., that Mo Tzu believed in the existence of the human spirit after death, and also believed in the possibility of the reappearance of the spirit after death. This evidently he considered the Confucianists did not believe and so opposed them on that ground.

3. *Mo Tzu's idea of Heaven (天) is different from that of the Confucianists.*

The third anti-Confucian tract is entitled "The will of Heaven". In this Mo Tzu confesses that he possessed within himself a consciousness of the will of Heaven, and that this consciousness served him in the moral sphere, as the square served the carpenter, and the compasses the wheelwright, i. e. as the means whereby he measured conduct. The "will of Heaven" was to him the ultimate and universal standard, by which everything was to be judged. His interpretation of the will of Heaven is of peculiar interest, in that, according to modern critics like Liang Ch'i Ch'ao and Hu Shih, it permits of a personal interpretation. In fact it would seem that the personal interpretation is the only one which meets the case. We have already said that to Mo Tzu the "will of Heaven" signifies the desire of Heaven that all men should love one another, equally and without distinction. When asked to give reasons for thus defining it he replied, "Heaven created or owns all things and nourishes all things equally and without partiality. That is evidence that Heaven loves all without distinction". The nature of Heaven being of this

character, it is inferred that men, who are created and nourished equally by Heaven, should bring themselves into conformity with the "will of Heaven" thus expressed, and love one another, also without distinction. Conduct and relationships must all be approved or condemned in so far as they conform or not to this "clear law" (明法度). In fact they are so approved or condemned by the measure of calamity or prosperity which ensues. So as the tract on the existence of spirits was intended to deter man from evil doing, so this tract on the "will of Heaven" was calculated to stimulate men to virtue. By thus speaking of the will of Heaven, as creative and loving, and calling upon all men to imitate it, it is evident that something essentially different from the generally accepted Confucian view of Heaven is here expounded. It may be when we know more about Mo Tzu, that we shall be able to say he spoke of "the will of God."

4. *Mo Tzu attacks the Fatalistic notions of the Confucianists.*

Liang Ch'i Ch'ao is of the opinion that in his treatment of this subject, Mo Tzu renders a contribution of the greatest value to Chinese philosophy, for Fatalism, part of the heritage which Confucianism has handed down to posterity, has, according to him, been one of the greatest hindrances to Chinese progress. That the natural order is governed by fixed laws, that wealth and poverty are determined, and that life and death are beyond the power of men to control: these are some of the essentially fatalistic notions germane to the Confucian philosophy. Mo Tzu pressed these conceptions to their logical issue, affirming that fatalism stultified men's thinking and in-

duced indolence. It also inclined men to acquiesce in certain conditions of the social order which were essentially evil, and was therefore to be unhesitatingly condemned. He argued that idleness was responsible for many calamities, and that if men would only exert themselves they could not only obviate poverty and distress, but could also bring about positive improvement in their circumstances. He exemplified this in his own life of strenuous service for the public good. He was not ready to acquiesce in the idea that the rich were so by Heaven's decree, or that the wars of his time are ordained by providence. These were *evils* that waited for the efforts of men to eradicate. So he set himself to the task of social amelioration and called upon all to do likewise.

5. *Mo Tzu decries the Confucian emphasis on Music.*

Music held an important place in the Confucian ritual, and was cultivated to an excessive degree by the leisured and influential classes. Mo Tzu contended that altogether too much time was given to it, leading to the neglect of other things much more vital to the welfare of the people. He was in fact opposed to every variety of Art as being dispensable, and as consuming time and money which might be diverted to more profitable pursuits. As long as there was poverty and distress in the land, he considered the Confucianists to be criminal in laying such emphasis on the importance of mere Music, and devoting so much time to it. This Stoic attitude to life, with the elimination of everything that did not contribute positively to utilitarian ends, has naturally excited much criticism. But in this, as in everything else, we must remember that Mo Tzu was attacking what in his conception were great public evils, and doubtless music as stressed

by the Confucianists of his day appeared such to him and so called forth his antagonism. But it is not the purpose of this paper to criticise him. It is with the idea of introducing his philosophy of life to a wider circle and in a sense of attempting to justify his heretical views that this lecture has been prepared.

XIV

Critics find it difficult to describe him. Perhaps he is most generally known as the Apostle of Universal Love. He was a Stoic without the Stoic's fatalism: a Spartan with pacific convictions: a Utilitarian with a religious mentality: a Socialist believing in an Autocracy of Virtue. Hu Shih calls him a Politico-religious philosopher, Liang Ch'i Ch'ao a big Marx and a little Christ. In conclusion the writer would like to render his personal tribute by adapting Tennyson's lines:—

“How should China, dreaming of her sons,
Hope more for these than some inheritance
Of such a life, a heart, a mind as thine,
Thou noble prophet of the State to be.
Laborious for her people and her poor,
Far-sighted summoner of war and waste
To fruitful strifes and rivalries of peace.
Beyond all title, and a household name
Hereafter, through all times, Mo Tzu the Good.”

